

THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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HOME, (LAKEBAY P. O.) WASHINGTON, JUNE 1, 1912

WHOLE NO. 38

The Passing Show

Fighting for Their Homes.

"We are fighting for our homes; we care nothing for Governor Johnson. Only the military will stop us," cried the vigilantes of San Diego. "Fighting for our homes," that's a splendid catch-phrase and very aptly applied by the bourgeoisie who have cast off the thin veil of civilization and the darkness of night, and come out openly in the clear light of day as vicious, inhuman monsters. In the early part of the struggle they worked under cover of darkness. Today they go about the city terrorizing every citizen and kidnaping, torturing and deporting all whom they suspect as being in sympathy with the workers struggling to retain their constitutional right of free speech.

The police and the vigilantes work hand in hand vying with each other in the dastardly work of torturing the workers.

The chief of police carries a rifle. The other day he met a union man on the street who had cartooned him in the Labor Leader, and nearly killed him with his boots and the butt of the rifle.

Julius Tumm, a union tailor, was taken from his work, slugged in the police station, deported with 85 others at night, tortured at the city limits, robbed of \$50 and forced to walk 140 miles to Los Angeles. Tumm's crime was that he wore a red necktie. The others were I. W. W. Socialists and A. F. of L. members.

Repeatedly gangs of from 10 to 50 men have been taken from the city in this manner, beaten, forced to sing patriotic songs, kiss the flag, run the gauntlet and suffer other cruelties, turned loose on the desert and ordered not to return on penalty of death.

Two men have been murdered. Joe Mikolasch was shot nine times, in the I. W. W. hall.

The case of Dr. Ben L. Reitman is typical of the methods employed by the bloodthirsty monsters to "protect their homes," except that he was the first to be tarred and feathered. Dr. Reitman, as manager for Emma Goldman, accompanied her to San Diego, where she was to lecture. A howling mob of vigilantes awaited them at the depot and followed the auto-bus that took them to the U. S. Grant hotel, using the vilest epithets, but the police never interfered.

At night the vigilance committee, 500 strong, aided by the police, took Dr. Reitman from the hotel and subjected him to the most fiendish and dastardly treatment in the history of criminology, since the witch-burning period and the Spanish Inquisition.

Let Dr. Reitman relate his own terrible story:

"While they were taking me to a place in the desert about thirty miles from San Diego, my captors thrust pencils in my nostrils and ears. They stuffed dirt into my mouth, and struck me with their fists and with clubs throughout the whole terrible trip. Continuously they called me the vilest names I ever heard.

"When we reached the desert we found another party waiting. In the light of a fire they had burning they stripped me and then began fiendish and inhuman torture. I begged them to kill me and end the pain, but they replied they wanted me to go away and tell how San Diego treated my

kind. They said that if they had Emma Goldman there they would give her the same dose.

"Just before they put the hot tar on my body, their torture became terrible. Each man would come forward and ask me a question. If the answer did not please him I would be struck in the face. Finally I was thrown to the ground. A small American flag was stuck down my throat until I was almost strangled. While some of the men held me, others stuck desert thorns into my ears. Then they drew aside and discussed whether they would permit me to keep my sight.

"Just before the tar was applied they held me and burned my back with red hot cigars. Then, while I lay there, they plastered on the tar and covered it with cactus and desert grass. I was then stoned into the desert, the men following me until they were tired. After walking a long way I reached Berendo, almost naked, and bought these overalls and jumper."

Words are feeble implements in such times as these. That there existed in this so-called advanced age of civilization, after 2000 years of Christianity screeching, fiends, cold-blooded monsters, in the guise of men, not even the most pessimistic of us would believe. The intense suffering undergone by the martyrs of free speech in San Diego is a big price to pay for such knowledge. But the working class as a whole will benefit by this immensely.

There is a school of socialists who have boasted so much of the "civilized" methods that may now be employed to emancipate the race, by reason of the humanity of the age. It is to be hoped this experience will dispel the illusion.

A Live Middle Class.

The middle class, that this same school of socialists has been telling us, is about extinct, beaten and consumed by the big capitalists, seems to be very much alive. This corpse of a theory is not going to lay down in obedience to philosophy. It knows how to defend itself. It has courage and initiative. While the workers are philosophizing it grasps their weapon of direct action, and demonstrates everything they claim for it by practicing on the workers' heads.

It's time our day dreams were dispelled. It's time that Action took the place of Philosophy. But before we can put any policy into action we must have numbers. We must convince and carry that mob of workers we are used to calling reactionaries, and the dupes of fake leaders.

In other words, we cannot save ourselves alone; we cannot go too far ahead of the main body without meeting with disaster. Still we must keep ahead, pointing the way and urging the workers on.

But our tactics are fine, as we are learning at a heavy cost. The bourgeoisie discarded their own methods and adopted ours. They know a good thing when they see it, and we are compensated for our suffering by the knowledge it brings us.

Trial of the Lawrence Leaders.

The Lawrence strike is not yet over. It will not be over till the men now in jail are released. It was thought a master stroke of the "mill-owners" to jam Ettor and Giovannitti into jail right in the midst of the big strike.

In olden times such an act would have proven disastrous to the strikers. The history of proletarian uprisings teems with such disasters. When Spartacus, the greatest revolu-

tionary leader the world has ever known, was killed by the Romans, his army was defeated and fifteen thousand of his followers were crucified on crosses along the great Roman road called the Appian Way.

In modern times the slaying of Wat Tyler and the eventual hanging of 1500 of the English peasantry, who under his leadership marched upon London and petitioned young Richard II. for a redress of grievances, is the most prominent example of proletarian slaughter upon being deprived of a leader.

The Lawrence strike was a leaderless strike to begin with. No part of it was due to agitation. The leaders came when the strike was on. It was a strike without organization or premeditation. It was a mass strike—such a strike as will one day tie up the country—and the capitalist world; a strike that will surprise nobody more than the leaders, who will be grabbed by the collars and pushed into the head of the procession.

The mill owners of Lawrence thought they would kill the strike by arresting Ettor and Giovannitti. But other men stepped into the breach and victory was achieved. These two leaders are still in jail and will be convicted of murder, if the mill owners have their way.

It is the top notch of infamy to murder a defenceless woman striker. But when the vile and heartless perpetrators charge the crime to the strike leaders the limit of atrocity is exceeded. Such is the case in Lawrence.

These two leaders were jailed, not because of any crime they committed, but to get them out of the way; and now they are to be convicted that the perfidy of their arrest may be concealed. Such is the vicious game being worked up by the exploiters of Lawrence. And they will carry it thru unless the workers raise their voices in a protest so loud the villains will fear the dire consequences of their proposed atrocity and desist.

The expense of a legal defense will also have to be met, and it is only by collecting the pennies of the poor it can be done. Send donations to Wm. Yates, 9 Mason St., Lawrence, Mass.

Printers and the Chicago Strike.

The Chicago printers, by a vote of nearly two to one, refused to strike in sympathy with the pressmen who are locked out by the newspapers of that city. The printers were appealed to from all sides to make common cause with their fellow workers, but they remained true to their jobs—their contract—they called it. They remained true to their lack of the spirit of solidarity. Solidarity is developed by oppression. Men are driven together by the force of necessity. Thus they learn the power of unity and its value as a mutual protection, thus was society formed.

The printers must be beaten a few times more before they will accept the lesson of labor history, that no union can stand alone for any length of time. But I am surprised that these printers, who have a reputed intelligence beyond the average worker, should not see the fact before their eyes, and thusly escape the folly of defeat and humiliation at a future time. Still if it is only by their own experience they learn, let them pay the fool's price.

JAY FOX.

THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

Law, in its guarantee of the results of pillage, slavery and exploitation, has followed the same phase of development as capital; twin brother and sister, they have advanced hand in hand, sustaining one another with the sufferings of humanity. Peter Kropotkin

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

IV.

(In this article is continued the review of some of the chief causes of the failure of the I. W. W. dual organization program.)

THE I. W. W. PLACES ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF A DISRUPTIVE ORGANIZATION.

Disruption is the high crime in every labor movement. Any individual or organization proven guilty of this offense is given short shift in the organized labor circles. This is natural, as unity is the first essential to a successful movement.

The I. W. W., with its weird dual organization program, exposes itself fully to the charge of being a disruptive organization; and our enemies, in whose hands we place this powerful weapon, use it continually with telling effect against us. Just a couple of cases of the numerous ones that might be cited to illustrate this point:

Fellow Worker Freeman, an I. W. W. member of the "Leather Workers on Horse Goods" (A. F. of L.), recently got out a pamphlet violently criticizing this antique union, its methods, Civic Federation officers, etc., and winding up by inviting its members to desert it and join the I. W. W.

The pamphlet caused quite a stir among the disgruntled leather workers, who had long suffered from the evils exposed by Freeman, and Bryan, the president of their union, was forced to write an answer to it. His response was as typical as effective. Stripped of non-essentials, it amounted in effect to:

This man Freeman is a disruptor, a spy, a traitor. He is deliberately trying to destroy our union (quotes Freeman's own words in proof). He is trying to do exactly the same as the M. & M. There must be some connection between them. He should be expelled from the union.

The vast bulk of organized workers can't understand the necessity of breaking up their present unions and joining others, simply in order to change their minds, which is what the I. W. W. proposition amounts to—and are quick to believe such arguments as Bryan's. Labor fakers using them are placed in the position of defenders of their unions and the I. W. W., in so favoring them, is aiding to perpetuate what it is attempting to destroy.

An Instructive Incident.

Fellow Worker Jaekel recently had an account in "Solidarity" of a typical and instructive incident that occurred last fall in Chicago. I will give the substance of it from memory: The cooks were organizing into the A. F. of L. Jaekel spoke at one of their meetings. He gave them a talk on industrial unionism, advising all hotel and restaurant workers to unite and act together. His talk was very well received. He was followed by Fellow Worker Moreau, who roasted the A. F. of L. as a bunch of scabs, etc., and advised the cooks assembled to get into the I. W. W. A commotion ensued and a motion was made to throw the disrupting I. W. W. out of the hall. It was carried and executed.

This incident should be full of lessons for us. It illustrates clearly the popularity of the two programs of the I. W. W. Our first and successful

one, viz., propagation of industrial unionism, presented by Jaekel, was well received as usual. Our second and unsuccessful one, viz., dual organization, presented by Moreau, was absolutely rejected—also as usual.

This hostility of organized workers for our dual organization program as typified by the I. W. W. is well known to our speakers, and in talking to such they usually evade mentioning it to them, confining themselves as much as possible to our other and more popular program.

How to Get Subs.

This line of tactics is well illustrated in the method of the champion sub-getter for "Solidarity." According to B. N. Williams, he makes a specialty of getting subs from organized workers. He carefully conceals from prospective subscribers that "Solidarity" is an I. W. W. paper. One of his devices being to artfully cover with one hand the letters I. W. W. in Solidarity's title when reading some selected article on the front page. He has learned from experience that many organized workers will readily subscribe for Solidarity on the strength of its advocacy of industrial union principles, who couldn't be induced if they knew it to be an organ of the ostracized, disruptive I. W. W.

This evil reputation of the I. W. W. has been a severe handicap to it. It can be expected to last as long as the dual organization program which produced it does.

THE I. W. W. FLAGRANTLY VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MILITANT MINORITY.

In every group of human beings, be it Y. W. C. A., A. F. of L., I. W. W., M. & M. or what not, there are to be found a certain few individuals who exercise a great influence over the thoughts and actions of the rest of the mass. They are natural leaders and maintain their leadership through their superior energy, courage, intellect, oratorical power, organizing ability, etc., as the case may be.

French revolutionists have noted that the most potent of these inevitable leaders in the labor movement are the militant revolutionists, whose vigorous philosophy and tactics, which are those par excellence of the labor movement, coupled with their unflagging energy and courage, born of the revolution, make them invincible in the struggle for the control of the labor movement. These rebels, always far in minority, simply force the great mass of workers in conservative unions into action, and to become revolutionary, whether they will or no in spite of the contrary efforts of "leaders" of other types—Socialists, etc.

To better exploit their power these militants have banded themselves together in the various unions to war collectively on conservative control and influence—to "bore from within," as we abominably express it. These are the famous "militant minorities" which have done so much to revolutionize the French movement. Their power is immense. Let us take the recent French railroad strike, as an illustration of it.

A Lesson from the French Railroad Strike.

Until a couple of years ago the French railroads, dominated by Socialists, were so conservative that it was a common saying that they never would strike again. But a few months after the militant minority had deposed the Socialist dictator, France was shaken by the recent great railroad strike of 50,000 workers. The Socialists deliberately broke the strike by holding the remaining 75,000 railroaders at work. The strikers were forced back to work unconditionally, though the railroads made them many "voluntary" concessions. Three thousand men from all through the railroad service in France—non-striking roads included—were later discharged on the pretense that they were responsible for the strike. But of this number it is very doubtful if one thousand were militant revolutionists, because in the general cleanup great numbers of men were discharged by bosses who had petty grievances against them and seized this favorable opportunity to get rid of them. Hundreds of others were discharged for saying the strike was a good thing or something similar. One thousand is, therefore, a liberal estimate of the number of militants amongst the discharged. And it is to the activities of this thousand militants (more or less) in the conservative unions that this great strike must be charged. Had they separated themselves from the old unions, made themselves into a revolutionary sect and labeled their organization the only bona fide labor union, and "bawled out" the

conservative unions, as the I. W. W. militants are doing, there would have been no strike.

I. W. W. Disorganizes Militant Minorities.

The I. W. W. dual organization program has the effect of disorganizing the potentially powerful militant minorities in all American unions. The explanation is simple: We make rebels of many organized workers and fill them with the patriotic belief that the I. W. W. is the whole labor movement and that their old unions are capitalist institutions, interlopers, etc. They logically conclude that the sooner these unions go out of existence the better, and ordinarily either quit them entirely or at least cease to try to improve them. The double result of this is to absolutely disorganize the militant minorities and to leave the old unions in the undisputed possession of the conservatives and fakers.

Many unions plainly show the evil effects of these unwise tactics. Take the W. F. of M., for instance. According to Vincent St. John, when this union was in the best fighting days, 10 per cent of its members were rebels, but this militant minority were so well organized that they controlled the union and made it willy nilly a real fighting organization. And now, if the W. F. of M. is conservative, it is chiefly because this once powerful militant minority is disorganized and has practically quit fighting to control the union. This disorganization is due to the I. W. W. doctrine that A. F. of L. unions are not labor unions. I have met quite a lot of these old W. F. of M. militants, who believe that the W. F. of M., because it quit the I. W. W., should be wiped out of existence. Let these militants once get this foolish idea out of their heads; let the Haywoods, St. Johns, Heslewoods and the numerous other old W. F. of M. militants, now but lookers on, get back into the fight again, organize themselves and the W. F. of M. can readily be made into a fighting organization once more.

The case of the "International Shingle Weavers' Union" is a sample of I. W. W. tactics. This small radical union (about 3000 members) refuses to quit the A. F. of L. and join our church. Therefore, it must be patriotically broken up. And in Seattle I heard I. W. W. men proudly boast that this consummation was near, as "we have got all the rebels so they won't pay dues into it any more."

Truly a great and wise achievement, as the rebels are probably enuf to run the "Shingle Weavers' Union," as they would were they only members of it and organized to do so. But to do this presupposes their getting rid of their I. W. W. patriotism.

The same disorganization of the militant minority exists in the Pacific district of the International Longshoremen's Association. This union is full of rebels and there are hundreds more on the outside that won't come in. They are all disorganized, crying out against the fakers controlling the I. L. A., when if they were on the inside and organized they could get rid of these same fakers in a jiffy. Kean, the district president, realizes this. That is why he raised his cry a few weeks ago against an I. W. W. "boring from within" invasion of the I. L. A. Rossini, national organizer of the Italian Socialist Federation (I. W. W.), in "le Proletario" (November), quotes an ex-organizer of the U. M. W. A. to the effect that the Italian rebels in the U. M. W. A. could control a "great part" of the local unions if they only would. Being obsessed with the I. W. W. idea they don't even try.

This disorganization of militant minorities is general in the American labor movement. Innumerable instances of it might be cited. It is one of the most evil results of our dual organization program, from which monstrosity it naturally proceeds. It is a potent cause for the weakness of our movement. Indeed, with us destroying the effectiveness of rebels as we are, the wonder is not that the American movement is making such slow progress, but that it is making any progress at all.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

(The next article of this series will be on new tactics for the I. W. W.)

The Martyrdom of Toil

The history of Unionism is a history of martyrdom. The path of progress is strewn with the bones of sturdy, liberty-loving workers, who fought and died in the battle for Freedom. Against whom? Always against government, the hired hoodlum and slave-herder of the exploiters, who fatten on the miseries of mankind.

THE CRY OF THE UNDERLINGS

The masters stand at the head of things;
They are lords of work and pay;
And we must run till the set of sun,
Because the masters say;
For we, for we are the underlings,
And the lords of bread are they;
And we must eat, tho they screw and cheat,
And when they nod, obey.

Sometimes there is work for every one,
And sometimes, barred each gate;
And why it is so, the masters know,
We only wish and wait.
They know when the freight will begin to run,
And the factory whistles blow,
And the fires burn and the spindles turn;
These things the masters know.

We work and work at things we must,
We don't so greatly care,
By the rushing flume, at the roaring loom,
In the coal mine's killing air.
We fashion gems for a dole of crust,
And silks, with a rag for pay;
And the things we make, the masters take,
To make their woman gay.

Their is wit and grace and courtesy,
When the masters meet and dine,
And the lives of men are ticked off then,
Over the nuts and wine;
For before them they somehow seemed to see
All that the future brings.
Our minds are dull as we mull and mull
With these puzzling things.

We shape the clothes that the masters wear
With such easy air of right;
We mine the coals that warm their souls,
As we shiver at home to-night;
We build the yachts that the masters bear
With their graceful swallow wings:
For they are free; but we, but we
Are only underlings.

Our minds are dull, we mull and mull,
But we're waking, masters; ay,
We're waking now and with knitted brow;
We're wondering dimly, why!
Only wondering, slow and vast and dull,
Brutal to do and dare;
But if ever we shake ourselves awake,
Masters of bread, beware!

—PHILIP GREEN WRIGHT

WINNOWING OUT THE CHAFF

With the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, and as time progressed, it became obvious that across the border a true attack on the money power was being made, and that Mexico had become the scene of a clean-cut struggle between the house of "Have" and that of "Want." But many allegedly revolutionary leaders could not see that obvious fact, and I myself consider that they could not see because they did not want to see. It threatened to shake them out of their accustomed ruts; it disturbed their policies, and the policies of leaders are always those of men who have vested interests to protect, popularity to be kept up and treasures to be filled. In this country even revolutionary leaders are frightfully commercial, and instead of pushing to the front new issues vital to their movement they shelve them as dangerous and take up only those that pay. For a long time past the pull has been steadily in that direction, and such a course is absolutely fatal. We can not put up a fight against commercialism while being ourselves commercial. We cannot hew to the line if we hunt notoriety; bold revolt and cautious conservatism will not mix. Revolution is not a game in which it is possible to serve both God and Mammon.

It is the high prerogative of great events to put theories and individuals to the test and winnow out the chaff. The economic struggle in this country and Mexico is teaching us that the starvation of the masses is no plaything and that with the social problem we can no longer toy. The whole social movement is feeling the influence of the last twelve months, and the split between Direct Actionists and Political Programists is at bottom the quarrel between those who would sail on eternally thru a sea of talk and those who are for throttling the wolf forever growling at their door. It is the inevitable conflict between those who arrived on Easy Street and the great masses who have not the slightest chance of ever getting there. To the latter the Mexican Revolution makes its powerful appeal as being essentially the bread struggle thru which a new and better order will be brought to life.

—Wm. C. Owen, in Regeneration.

NEW BOOKS

Elements of Socialism—By John Spargo and George Louis Arner, Ph. D. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y., \$1.50, net.) This book is designed as a text book and it is quite up to date in its conservatism. According to it socialism is a very moderate proposition indeed, a sort of evolutionary capitalism, that will take over the industries one at a time, and issue bonds to the exploiters for the return of the stolen property. Thus the capitalists need have no fear of the future, for they may retire to their gorgeous mansions and live in comfort and ease for many generations under "Socialism" on the spoils grafted under capitalism.

The Socialist State will not only fulfill all the "functions" of the present State, but it will have the power to operate and control all the industries as well. Here is a sample of the "freedom" it will confer on its subjects: "Liberty is not license. The Socialist State, while giving full freedom to the artist, would not be likely to tolerate obscenity in the name of art." That is precisely what the present State says. "Obscenity" is an indefinite term used by the State as a pretext for the suppression of every radical idea in art and education. The Socialist State will use the same pretext for the same purpose.

"The matter of education is socially too important to be left to the children themselves, or to their parents even. The State must assume the responsibility of developing the maximum of efficiency in its future citizens."

"That the Socialist State will, for its own protection no less than for the protection of the children, exercise some control over marriage may be regarded as certain. It may be that it will make marriage a civil contract, compelling all persons to be married by a civil authority. . . . It is also more than likely that the Socialist State will forbid the marriage of persons suffering from certain forms of disease and from certain physical and mental defects."

Thus the Socialist State will watch over us like a good old-fashioned parent and see that we abide strictly by orthodoxy and make no move upon our own initiative.

Was Herbert Spencer too severe when he called it "The Coming Slavery?"

J. F.

STRAY THOUGHTS

May First 1912 has marked time in the long procession of the centuries. The beautiful month of May, when all nature emerges from her long, dreary, winter's sleep. Beautiful month of springtime and flowers. Man, too, revives his hopes and renews his resolves, for he, also, feels the flood-tide of nature in his own being and responds as best he can to her charming voice.

What more appropriate time could the workers choose to renew their efforts to inaugurate a better day, a better life for themselves?

I noticed that this grand old International Day was more widely observed this year than has been the case in recent years. The papers tell us of its observance both in America and Europe on an extensive scale. I was in Cleveland, O., on May 1st and witnessed a fine demonstration by the Socialists, on the Public Square, the speeches were fine and appropriate.

Well, I am on another trip thru the East, however, I shall not go farther east than Ohio this time. I find organized labor somewhat in the position of Mr. McCaubaer, Esq., "waiting for something to turn up."

LUCY E. PARSONS.

[Mrs Parson sells the famous speeches delivered by her husband and the seven other labor martyrs who were sacrificed to the moloch of capitalism in Chicago in 1887.

She has published six editions of the speeches in the last 18 months and sold them mostly in trade union meetings which she visits every night.

She has the endorsement of several labor organizations including the Brewery Workers, the Bakers, N. Y., central Federated Trades, and two district Presidents of U. M. W. A., and is well received everywhere.—Editor]

THE AGITATOR EXCURSION

The third annual excursion to Home Colony, given by The Agitator Club of Seattle, will take place on SUNDAY, JUNE 23rd.

The steamer "Fairhaven" will leave Pier 3, foot of Madison Street, at 8 a. m. sharp, returning in the evening.

Dancing, boating, games, and other amusement will be provided.

Refreshments served on the boat. Dinner at Home, 50 cents. Tickets, \$1.00. Children under 12, 50 cents.

Tickets for sale at Lavroff's stand, 115 Prefontaine Place, and Raymer's, 1522 First Ave.

If you wish to be sure of the opportunity to take this delightful trip, get your tickets now.

From the Mail Bag

B. E. Nilsson: Your two articles, in answer to Foster, received. If it is your intention to reply to all the articles in the same manner of these two, you will crowd all others out for five or six issues after Foster finishes. That will hardly be fair to the many others who are waiting to have their "say;" and I don't see how, in fairness to them, I can give you so much space, especially since our space is so limited.

Their is another angle from which this matter can be viewed: This discussion concerns the I. W. W. particularly. Why shud not the I. W. W. lend its press columns to members who wish to take part in it? I cannot account for the closing of the I. W. W. press in the first place. It is surely a matter of much importance to the I. W. W.; and a large number of the members wanted to have it discussed. Still the doors were abruptly closed against it by some mysterious power, lurking, I know not where.

We are not opposed to giving space to the other side, but the other side has a press many times larger than ours; while Foster has none. Therefore giving our space freely to the defenders of the present I. W. W. position is not the same as giving it to him.

Editor The Agitator: Inclosed find vol. 1 No. 1, Young Rebel's Literary Digest. It is published by a young wage slave of fifteen years with the object of spreading progressive ideas amongst the children.

Lester Bernard, Editor.

925 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco,

[The "Digest" meets with my unqualified approval. The Young Rebels must step in and help us break up this old system that sends them into the mines and factories before they are half grown. The Youth must serve their apprenticeship at the Revolutionary College, where they will learn the realities of life. A boy or girl will learn more that is vital to him or her in this movement than in our highbrow colleges.

The best way to learn to do is by doing. Get our friends of The Modern School, 104 E. 12th st. N. Y., to write for you. The Modern School aims to guide the children in getting at the realities of life just as early as they can acquire them. Thus their real education will begin at the beginning of life, and they will escape the patriotic poison of the capitalist schools.]

Editor The Agitator: Enclosed find money order for \$7.00, \$3.00 to pay for next two issues, 50 each issue, the remainder goes for the enclosed list of subs.

When The Agitator decides to start as a weekly let me know, and if I cant rustle \$50.00 to help it along I will eat my hat.

Nelson B. C.

J. W. Johnstone,

Secy, Syndicalist League.

[It has been the dream of the group to make it a weekly, and we have hugged the hope that increased support would make it possible in the near future. A few more bets like yours will do it.]

Editor The Agitator: I have read your paper for some time and must say that it is all right. I used to be a political socialist but your paper and the last political campaign we had here in Los Angeles has changed me and lots of others. Direct Action thru the Industrial Union is the only dope and I see it plainer every day.

Los Angeles, Cal.,

M. L. Crow.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale By the Agitator Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	2.50
What is Property? P. Proudon.....	2.00
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.25
Anarchism and other Essays, Emma Goldman ..	1.10
Slavery of Our Times, Tolstoy.....	.65
Patriotism, Emma Goldman.....	.05
What I Believe, Emma Goldman.....	.05
Francisco Ferrer; His Life, Work and Martyrdom.....	.25
The Rational Education of Children, Ferrer.....	.05
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SYNDICALISM: A WORKING ETHICS FOR BARBARIANS

In his "Principles of Sociology," Professor Franklin H. Giddings expresses a fear modern society may be overwhelmed by the proletarian elements it has bred. Is his pessimistic prophecy destined to be fulfilled? The movement, or social philosophy, known as Syndicalism, which issues from France and has found its most dramatic expression in America in the recent Lawrence strike, suggests in some minds an affirmative answer to this question. Compared with it, Socialism takes on the aspect of a Sunday-school convention, and even Anarchistic theories seem trivial. For Syndicalism is a working ethics for barbarians; it glories in the outbreaks of violence on the part of the proletariat. It does not aim merely to destroy the State and modern society, as do some of the more radical of the Socialistic theories; more immediately, it aims at the active and real destruction of the very idea of the State. If its followers do not think of assassinating kings and aristocrats, it is not because of moral reasons; it is because they are firmly convinced that kings and aristocrats are of no importance; it is useless to waste one's time with them. These are but a few of the relations of Syndicalism that have been made by its own philosophers—Georges Sorel, Ed. Berth, Emile Pouget, Victor Griffuelhes, Antonio Labriola and others.

Most brilliant among the theorists of the Syndicalist movement is M. Georges Sorel, "the metaphysician of violence," "the new Hume who has awakened the Socialists from their dogmatic slumber," as he is called. Original and irritating, he takes a sort of ferocious joy in bursting balloons of all sorts and smashing the idols which our intellectual education has set up for us to admire. But the real pioneer of present-day Syndicalism, the man who infused into the French labor organizations, or syndicates (now embodied in the Confederation generale du travail), the revolutionary and Anarchistic spirit, was Fernand Pelloutier. It is due to the efforts of Pelloutier, declares Sorel in his book, "Reflections on Violence," that the Anarchists were induced to harness and organize their revolutionary activity in the French syndicates. In his "Letter to the Anarchists," Pelloutier himself defined his aim thus:

"Our position in the Socialist world follows: Exiled from the 'Party' because, altho no less revolutionary than Vaillant and Guesde and quite as resolutely patrons for the suppression of private property, we are something more than they are—rebels every hour; men really without a God, without masters, without a country; irreconcilable enemies of all despotism, whether moral or material, individual or collective, that is to say, equally opposed to laws and to dictatorships (including that of the proletariat); and passionate believers in self-culture.

"Welcomed, on the other hand, because of these very sentiments, by the industrial unions, we have devoted ourselves to industrial work, free from personal ambition, working with all our might, and ready to give up our bodies on any battlefield; and, after fighting the police and baffling the army, again impassively taking up the obscure but fruitful work of the syndicate.

"Well let us try to maintain this position. Let those of us who, like the collectivists, look at the syndicalist movement with unsympathetic eyes, learn to respect it; and let those of us who believe in the revolutionary mission of the enlightened proletariat, pursue, more actively, methodically, and more obstinately than ever the work of moral, administrative, and technical education necessary to render possible the realization of a society of free men.

"I am not proposing, you see, any new method, nor asking for a unanimous assent to this method. All I believe is that, in the first place, in order to hasten 'the social revolution' and to enable the proletariat to derive all the desirable profit from it, not only should we preach to the four corners of the horizon the government of self by one's self, but, in addition, experimentally prove to the working class, in the heart of its own institutions, that such a government is possible. It is our duty, moreover, to arm the workers, by teaching the necessity for revolution, against the enervating suggestions of capitalism.

"For several years the syndicates have had a high and noble ambition. They believe that they have a social duty to fulfill, and instead of considering themselves only as instruments in the economic field, or simply as a part of the revolutionary army, they have attempted, in addition, to sow the germ of free groups of producers in a capitalistic society, thus preparing the way for the realization of our Anarchistic and Communistic conceptions. Should we then, by refusing to cooperate in their work, run the risk of allowing them to be discouraged and throw themselves back, perhaps, into the arms of the politicians?"

This appeal to French Anarchists of the militant type to merge their spirit of rebellion with that of the syndicates will some day be looked upon, declares Sorel, as one of the most important historical documents of modern times. For Pelloutier, according to Victor Dave (in "Portraits of Yesterday"), was the inspiration of the essential and primordial idea of revolutionary Syndicalism—the idea that the State can be of no use to Labor, that essentially and intentionally the State is a tool of the ruling class; and that consequently the triumph of the working class can be realized only by the destruction of the State, by its decomposition or reabsorption into the body of labor organizations. Thus, the syndicates or confederation become a standing army inimical to the State, yet constantly within the confines of the State. An adverse critic has likened the movement to the Camorra.

The entrance of the Anarchists into the ranks of the Syndicalists, says Sorel, makes the "social war" a reality instead of a mere grandiloquent malediction against the capitalist class. He continues:

"Historians will some day see, in this entrance of the Anarchists into the syndicates, one of the greatest events that have happened in our time; and then the name of my friend Pelloutier will be known, as it merits to be.

"Anarchistic writers who remained faithful to their old revolutionary literature do not seem to have regarded with favor the passage of their friends into the syndicates; their attitude shows us that the Anarchists who became Syndicalists were men of true originality and did not apply theories which had been manufactured by cloistered philosophers. Above everything else, they taught the workers that it was not necessary to blush over violent actions. Until then, they had tried, in the Socialist world, to minimize or to excuse the violence of strikers; the new Syndicalists looked upon these acts of violence as the normal manifestations of the class war. Their revolutionary temperament led them to this conception; for it would be a great error to suppose that the former Anarchists braut into these labor associations ideas relative to propaganda by direct action.

"Revolutionary Syndicalism is not, as many persons seem to think, a first confused form of the labor movement, an error of youth, sure to be outgrown in the long run. It is, on the contrary, an attitude inspired by men who come in time to steer the syndicates out of the path of bourgeois conceptions. One might thus compare it to the Reformation which wanted to prevent Christianity from passing under the influence of the humanists, and, like the Reformation, revolutionary Syndicalism might fail, if it should happen to lose the sense of its originality. This is what gives so much interest to investigation into proletarian violence."

Whether we approve of or condemn the direct and revolutionary methods of the Syndicalists, argues Sorel, Syndicalism has come to stay. "There are profound reasons which assure it a serious popularity, even if there were not so many examples to illustrate its tremendous efficacy. It is the great social fact of the hour, and we must seek to understand its bearing." Proletarian violence, as Sorel sees it, is the "spontaneous gesture" of the working-class, expressive of its power. It is this power the Syndicalist attempts to bring into consciousness. It is not a thing to be ashamed of. "If Socialism perishes," declares Sorel, "it will be because it is ashamed of its own barbarism. Syndicalists, he adds, might learn much from the methods employed by an American captain of industry." They need some of his indomitable energy, his daring based on a just appreciation of his own power, his cold calculation of interests, which are the qualities of great generals and great capitalists."

According to a writer in The Agitator (Lakebay, Wash.) Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will envelop the world in its shadow.

"The Syndicalists are out for plunder and respect not hating their enemies venerate. You may talk to them of country, of duty, of law and order, and they will only shrug their shoulders at these words, which have no meaning to them. . . . But among themselves they maintain strict discipline.

"What is especially alarming about Syndicalism is that it has appeared and suddenly manifested itself in the same manner as has done every new force in history. Whether we think of the foreign conquerors, as when the Normans invaded England under William the conqueror, or the Manchus invaded China, or of the time when the Third Estate overthrew the power of the clergy and nobility in France, the process has ever been the same. It has been the assailants, reckless and fully conscious of their power, who have descended upon those in possession, measured the force of resistance and taken from them what they were no longer able to defend.

"It is a fight in which the one who is attacked has everything at stake and in which defeat means absolute annihilation, physically and morally. Those who make

the attack are absolutely devoid of the inherited, almost sacred, respect for existing institutions, which are the most efficient bulwarks of existing society. The most sacred symbols, formulas, rites and sentiments are ridiculed and thrown over by the assailants. They do not understand them and merely laugh at them. In Rome, they pull the beards of the senators sitting in their chairs of office; they invade the temple of Apollo at Delphi; they upset the altars, break the statues of the gods, and take possession of the treasures. In Jerusalem they invade the most holy parts of the temple, to which only the High Priest has access; they gallop on horseback thru the church of Sophia and tie their horses to the altars, like a roaring, overflowing torrent, they rush into the Tuileries, and in their rags, dirty unkempt, they seat themselves unabashed upon the golden throne of King Louis Philippe.

"All old sense of value is upset and the new masters establish their own way of valuation according to their ideas. Such is the relation of Syndicalism toward the State and Society of the present day."

—CURRENT LITERATURE.

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Over across the imaginary line good Yankee tactics are being employed by the government to break the railroad builders' strike.

The men struck, camped around and took a vacation. No scabs could be induced to risk their hides for a job of that sort. The contractors foamed at the mouth. They were whipt. They called the government, good servant of the rich, and these peaceful strikers were driven back to work or out of the district. Many are in the hospital suffering from police brutality. Others, the leaders, are in jail. Still the I. W. W. is keeping scabs away and will win if they get necessary support.

THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund.

The Free Speech League.

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.

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